

The Philanthropist

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JAMES G. BIRNEY AND

We are verily grieved concerning our brother . . . therefore is this distress come upon us.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editors.

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POETRY.

From the Herald of Freedom.

"Why, the right of petition was a boon granted by Heaven to man, and the Majesty of Heaven designed to hear the prayer of the slave for mercy."

Ah! yes, in heaven his prayer is heard—
Presented by the Son of God—
The slave's petition there,
No cold, repulsive action meets—
The court of heaven with mercy treats,
The captive's humble prayer.

O! ye who rule as gods on earth,
Who boast a more exalted birth,
Than him you call your slave—
Think not that God to whom you pray,
"The sighing prisoner" 'll turn away,
Nor deign his soul to save.

The boon kind heaven grants to you,
Is for the bleeding captive too,
And though his limbs you chain—
His better part, the immortal mind,
With slavery's bands you cannot bind—
This ne'er can you detain.

With every morning breeze 'twill rise,
And while your voice "salutes the skies,"
His prayer like incense sweet,—
Will at his Heavenly Father's throne,
Where proud distinctions are not known
Divine acceptance meet.

But ah! to you he prays in vain—
His humble suit you dare disdain
And thus above your God
Enthroned yourselves! worms of the dust!
And from your hissed image thrust,
Nor fear his holy rod.

O! tremble, like your patriot sire,
For God is just—His dreadful fire
The guilty will consume;
Wash from your hands a brother's blood
And let his humble prayer be heard
Or wait a fearful doom.

Freemen—the God of heaven praise,
That Adams lives, his voice to raise,
In eloquence sweet strains—
For him whom proud oppressors say,
No right for mercy has to pray,
The captive in his chains.

Friend of the oppressed, may heaven shed
Its richest blessings on his head,
Undaunted may he stand
Sweet liberty's fair tree to guard
Till his petitions shall be heard
By freedom's patriot band.

EMANCIPATION.

West Indies.

Journal of Rev. James A. Thome.

St. Johns, Antigua, Dec. 17, 1836.

A tour to the West Indies is a matter of deep interest at the present time, to men of every liberal nation. It is particularly inviting to Americans, and it is certainly to be hoped that great numbers of philanthropic individuals, who can easily spare the time and means, will visit the British West Indies to see for themselves the workings of the emancipation act. There is little doubt that all who examine with candid minds will return home fully prepared to urge upon their countrymen the policy, as well as justice, of immediate emancipation.

I took passage from New York in the brig Latona, Capt. K—, bound for St. Thomas. I should have gone directly to one of the English islands, but no opportunity was presented. However, I have not regretted my visit to St. Thomas (one of the Danish islands) as it has afforded me an opportunity of seeing slavery in near contrast with freedom.

I found on board the vessel 16 or 18 passengers. Some of these were West India gentlemen, who had been travelling with their families through the eastern states, and were returning to their homes. Others were gentlemen and ladies, from various sections of the Union, who were in delicate health, and are designing to spend the winter in St. Croix, a favorite island with invalids. I believe. Being crowded into a very small and ill-adjusted cabin, with but few comforts within, and but little without to attract, a domestic familiarity soon sprang up amongst us. As the sea-sickness began to abate, the friendly interchange of sentiments increased.

CONVERSATION ON SLAVERY.

At such a time, the subject of slavery could scarcely be expected to pass unnoticed. It came up incidentally, but being once introduced, it excluded for the time every other subject. In detailing briefly the conversation, it will be interesting to know something about the dramatic persons. PRO-SLAVERY.—Mr. O., a gentleman from New York city, merchant; Mr. D., a man of business from Western New York; Mr. C., the mate of the vessel from Connecticut; Mr. R. an American, from one of the northern states. ANTI-SLAVERY.—Mr. J., a planter of St. Croix, and proprietor of 123 slaves; Mr. M., a slaveholder, Maryland. Mr. T., son of a slaveholder in Kentucky. This Mr. Editor, is literally true. What does it speak for America, and what a story does it tell on the free states! But observe further the sentiments expressed

by these several gentlemen. I will endeavor to detail the discussion, as nearly as possible, just as it occurred:

SCENE 1. On deck, 9 o'clock, P. M.

Mr. J. Emancipation had worked very well in the English islands, especially in Antigua, where it was total and immediate. Some disturbances had taken place under the apprenticeship system, because the slaves could not be brought to understand for some time how they could be freemen and still have to work without wages. Immediate emancipation was safer and less troublesome than gradual, because there is no room for those jealousies which slaves must feel at seeing freemen around them.

Mr. O. (Impatient at hearing so long a homily about justice and policy.) The niggers are an inferior race of beings, and I do not wish to have them brought on an equality with me by being emancipated.

Mr. J. (Very calmly.) There is reason enough for their apparent inferiority. They have been degraded by slavery. When they have had the privileges of education they have shown a great deal of intellect.

Mr. O. They can't be educated—they won't learn. [Proof.] My father had a boy sent to him from Africa to be educated. He used every possible exertion to educate him, but it was in vain—he would not learn. This is what makes me say that you need not try to teach the niggers. They were not made to learn.

Mr. J. and Mr. McN. [together.] They knew many colored persons who were highly intelligent.

Mr. McN. I know many colored persons in the West Indies who are far more talented than the planter's sons who have been sent to England to be educated.

Mr. O. [Tired of this point.] A great deal has been proudly said about the horrors of the African slave trade, but I believe it is one of the most benevolent enterprises in which man can engage.

[You will understand the reason of the introduction of this point, when you learn that the vessel in which we sailed—belonging to Mr. O's father in New York—was now bound to Havana to be sold there as a slave. Mr. O. was commissioned to effect the sale, and was to receive a share of the proceeds.]

Mr. J. (Indignant, and somewhat excited.) This is a late hour in the day to hear such sentiments. Upon my word! The African slave trade defended in the nineteenth century, by an American!

[I expected to hear Mr. J. swear on this occasion, being a West Indian, but he did not.]

Mr. O. Yes, sir, it is even so. I maintain that it is a benevolent enterprise. It is the only way in which the poor natives can be saved from death. The people from the interior make war upon the inhabitants of the coast, and when they take them captives, they give them their choice either to go in the slave-ships or be killed. It is mercy to buy them and bring them away from death.

Mr. McN. Sir, you seem to be ignorant of the fact, that those very wars of which you spoke are caused by the slave traders.

Mr. O. It is not so, sir. They grow out of religious persecutions. But however that may be, gentlemen, you have my views on the subject, and all I have to say further on this subject is, that this very brig is soon to be employed in the African slave trade, and I wouldn't care to invest \$5000 in the first trip.

[This announcement so shocked and disgusted the company, that there was a general dispersion. The pro-slavery champion retreated to the cabin.]

SCENE 2. In the Cabin, 10 o'clock, P. M.

Mr. O. [Partly to himself.] Mr. J. is the first planter I ever heard speak in such a way about slavery. Well, they may say what they please about the niggers, but I hold that they can't be educated. I know that my father had one sent to him from Africa, &c. [Repeating that imposing fact.] Besides, look at the free niggers in New York—how ignorant they are.

Mr. T. They are not allowed to go to school—how then should you expect to find them intelligent?

Mr. O. They ought not to be suffered to go to our schools.

Mr. T. Still you will reproach them for their ignorance!

Mr. D. [Abruptly intruding.] The niggers have got such long heels. I have heard it said that if you would put toes on their heels, you couldn't tell which was the fore part of their feet.

[Messrs. D. and O. join in a hearty laugh.]

Mr. T. What has this to do with their intelligence, or do you hold that the mind lies in the heels? But let me refresh your memories on one point. You remember, no doubt, that at one period the ancestors of these negroes were the sole depositaries of learning?

Mr. D. They didn't have woolly heads.

Mr. T. Yes; the historian gives them that very feature.

Mr. O. I didn't know all that before—but it matters not to us, for we are speaking of the present generation.

Mr. D. [Seizing a bright idea from this last remark.] Now, sir, I can prove that slavery is right. You admit that God is the Governor of the world, and that he can do all things. Why, then, would he permit slavery to exist so long unless it was a good system? There, sir, [growing warm and vociferous,] there, sir, I defy you to answer that argument. Hah, sir, I've got you there—you can't get away.

[Mr. O. concurred, that the argument was unanswerable, and the young gentleman from the north exulted most boisterously over the defeat of the southerner, who did not venture a reply to so grave an argument.]

Mr. R. [Fairly awakened by the boisterous exclamations, and discovering the general topic to be slavery, thrust forth his head.] The free niggers are a great deal worse off than the slaves. The meanest people in the world are these free niggers.

Mr. T. If this were all true, there is reason enough for it in the treatment of the whites. They use all their influence to prevent them from engaging in any honorable employment.

Mr. C. [Awoke with a surly growl, which indicated the course he would steer.] The long and short of the business is, that if the niggers are turned loose, they must amalgamate with the whites.

Mr. D. [Growing quite wild at this thought, and forgetting, in his frenzy, the divinely sanctioned character

of slavery.] If I had my way with the d—d niggers, I would guillotine the whole of them.

Mr. N. of Md. What monstrous sentiments! As for myself, I regard slavery as a great evil. I have seen enough of it, and I want to see it come to an end speedily.

Mr. D. Show me any evils which grow out of slavery. I challenge you to specify.

Mr. M. Slaveholder of St. Croix. I can mention one. I was in Norfolk, Va. but a few weeks ago, and I saw a man separated from his family, and taken off by a driver. The cries and groans of the mother and children were heart-rending. I could not refrain from weeping myself. For my part, I wish slavery was abolished.

It was nearly 12 o'clock, and the conversation ceased. The pro-slavery party retired to their berths, amusing themselves with remarks about long heels, woolly heads, monkeys, amalgamation, &c. &c.

As for myself, I retired, not to sleep, but to mourn over the shocking degeneracy of my countrymen, and more than ever impressed with the pro-slavery, negro-hating spirit of north Americans.

AMERICAN PREJUDICE.

Mr. D., of Western New York, was excessively annoyed by the presence of a colored steward. His olfactory nerves were wonderfully acute in detecting vile odors, and whenever the steward happened to pass "between the wind and his nobility," he was affected almost to nausea.

The steward, by the way, appeared to be a very worthy man, of unquestionable character, and much respected by the passengers generally. He has been a man, indeed, of rare advantages for a colored man, having been for some time a member of a college. His manner and address were correspondingly civil, and it is quite probable that the captain had more than once congratulated himself upon having a steward who combined the attainments of the scholar and the cook. Nevertheless, our young knight of the white skin regarded the steward with utter loathing.

He seized every opportunity afforded by his presence to reproach him for his color, in the most insulting terms. His expressions were sometimes so vile and obscene, that they shocked all the passengers.

Mr. D. is a fair specimen of that class of persons among whom negro prejudice, I can but hope, mostly abounds. A flippant young man, who by inheritance, or some fortunate speculation, or perhaps in some way still less reputable, has come into the possession of money. Weak minded, devoid of moral principle, heartless, dandyish, controlled by popular sentiment, whose standard of gentility is a defiance of good breeding, and the extent of whose knowledge is an acquaintance with the vocabulary of insolence and obscenity.

Such things, be assured sir, will never relinquish their prejudice, until it becomes contemptible to those whose favor they seek to secure, and then they most assuredly will. I had a fine opportunity of seeing this truth exemplified in the case of Mr. D. When our vessel came to anchor in the harbor of St. Thomas, we were boarded by several gentlemen, who came to get the latest American news. Among the rest was a colored gentleman. He was finely dressed, and appeared to be captain of a vessel; but still he was colored. Mr. D. espied him, as he first touched the deck, and the expressive exclamation, "Nigger," instinctively burst from his lips. He was very much disconcerted, however, when he saw 'his individual addressed by the captain and the West India gentlemen in a respectful manner. This was the first instance, probably, in which he ever saw a colored man treated by white gentlemen upon terms of equality; and for the first time in his life, doubtless, Mr. D. was crest fallen. He found himself among a people with whom American prejudice was not fashionable.

COLORS HOTEL IN ST. THOMAS.

Before leaving the vessel, I inquired of Mr. J., of St. Croix, for a comfortable house. He recommended the "Mansion House," kept by Mrs. Catharine Busby, a colored lady, as the best hotel in St. Thomas. The fact of the landlady being colored he mentioned quite incidentally, more as a sort of filling out his sentence than as a matter of intelligence. Upon the recommendation of a West India planter, I concluded to go to the Mansion House. But what my young countrymen, especially Mr. D., would do in this exigency, I could not divine. Their pride would lead them to choose the first hotel in the place, decidedly, but their prejudice—how must it be shocked at the idea of taking lodgings at the house of a colored woman! I repaired immediately to the Mansion House. Was received by Mrs. B. in the most respectful manner. I was struck with the dignity, and even elegance of her personal appearance. She was manifestly a lady of no ordinary accomplishments. Her complexion was but slightly tinged, not darker than that of many white ladies in America. The house was commodious, well furnished, and admirably adapted to the climate.

In looking over the Register, I found the names of gentlemen from all parts of the United States. Shortly after me, the other passengers came, en masse, to the Mansion House. The West India ladies and gentlemen came, and appeared to be quite at home, shaking hands with Mrs. B. in the most friendly manner. Close in their wake came Mr. D., quite reconciled now to be entertained by a colored hostess, since all the rest of the passengers set him the example.

The whole demeanor of Mr. D., while he remained in the Mansion House, was remarkably respectful, quite as much so as if he had been in the parlor of a white lady. As Mr. D. will spend the winter in the midst of a people who are comparatively strangers to negro prejudice it is to be hoped that he will lose the extreme delicacy of his nasal nerves, and learn better manners.

A merchant of Philadelphia arrived at St. Thomas a few days after us, and also came to the hostess; and they shook hands most cordially.

CONVERSATION WITH A GENTLEMAN FROM TRINIDAD.

One of the first persons with whom I met was a Mr. F. from Trinidad. Mr. F. is a lawyer and a planter. He stated, of his own accord, that the planters in Trinidad would make more sugar the present year than they have made for many years before. They get more work out of the apprentice in the nine hours prescribed by law, than they did before in the whole day, because they were more

strict, and managed with more system. Another item. The apprentices worked much better in their own time, than they did during the nine hours; because they were paid for it. Mr. F. thought that the abolition of slavery had been a great blessing to the colonies in every point of view.

Mr. F. also remarked, "This is a question (abolition of slavery,) which your country must take up one of these days." Conceive, sir, of my feelings, when such a bitter taunt was thrown into my teeth by the subject of a kindly government! And what could I say in reply, but to express, with shamefacedness, the hope that my country would ere long, follow the example which a monarchy "in her age" had set her!

ST. THOMAS.

The following information, regarding the present aspect of things in St. Thomas, has been gathered, not from a single individual, nor from a particular class of men, but from men of all classes and professions—from ministers, merchants, clerks, tradesmen and slaveholders.

Statistics.—The Island of St. Thomas is 12 miles from east to west, and but 4 from north to south. It is extremely mountainous, and on this account but a small portion of the land can be cultivated. There are not more than 30 estates on the Island. These are sugar estates, and they average about 50 slaves each. The population of the island is 11,000. Of these about 1,500 are whites. Of the remainder nearly one-half are free—the rest are slaves. The town of St. Thomas contains about 7,000 inhabitants.

Religion.—In the Dutch Reformed church there are 200 communicants, and 400 confirmed. There is also a Lutheran church of nearly the same number, and a Catholic church which is considerably larger. The Moravians have two establishments—one 2 miles east of the town—the other about a mile west of the town. These societies embrace a large number of the slaves. I did design visiting both these establishments, but was providentially prevented. The Wesleyan missionaries, who have been so eminently useful in the English colonies, have been excluded from this Island. The only reason for this arbitrary measure was, that those missionaries had too much contact with the slaves, and their influence over them was dreaded.

Education.—There is a Lancasterian school, in which the free colored people principally are taught. The slaves in town are in some instances allowed to go, when their masters are so disposed. The Moravians have schools at their establishments. The Sabbath school connected with the Dutch Reformed church 250 scholars. There is no obstacle to instructing the slaves in Sabbath school, but I understood that they did not attend much; and the reason assigned was, that, being slaves, they did not appreciate the blessings of education.

Ah, yes! why should the prisoner desire light, when it would only reveal the strength of his dungeon, and the bitterness of his bondage?

Prejudice.—Prejudice against color is scarcely known in St. Thomas. There are distinctions here as elsewhere, but they are distinctions of wealth and rank almost exclusively. Colored and white sit promiscuously in church. This is the case in all the churches. I witnessed it myself in two of the largest congregations. I was informed, however, that there was some little complaint about it in one church. I thought I might safely guaranty that the complainants in this case were Americans.

Colored and white people meet freely at parties, balls, &c. They are also united in business of every kind. The wife of one of the most wealthy colored gentlemen lately died, and her funeral was attended by the first inhabitants of the town. In another case, the child of a wealthy colored man, aged only four months, was followed to the church yard by a long procession of the most respectable merchant's, etc.

NEGRO INTELLECT AND WEALTH.

As might be expected in a community where intelligence and property are the passport at least to partial respectability, no small efforts will be made to secure them. The best evidence of intellect among the colored population of St. Thomas, is the variety of responsible pursuits in which they are engaged, and this is the common standard of capacity in every country. In passing along the streets I discovered colored people conducting every kind of business. They were in hat shops, shoe and tailor shops, cigar shops and factories, clothing establishments, fancy stores, milliner and mantua shops, drug stores, groceries, and every line of mercantile business. They were proprietors of hotels, cabinet shops, saddle shops, &c. They were bookkeepers, clerks, commanders of vessels, soldiers, silversmiths, bakers, bricklayers, carpenters, &c. Having some business in one of the principal mercantile houses in the place, I was referred by one of the firm to the book-keeper, a colored man. He was the first clerk in the establishment, and a noble looking man he was too, with a head which, despite its woolly covering, it would thrill a phenologist's fingers even to touch. A gentleman of high standing in St. Thomas said of this colored man, "he is one of our most worthy citizens."

COLORS SLAVEHOLDERS.

Instances of wealth are not unfrequent among the free colored people. The wealthiest man in the Island is a negro. He is supposed to be worth a million. This man amassed his wealth by merchandise. He is now aide-camp to the Governor General, i. e. the Governor of all the Danish Islands. It is humiliating to add here, that the free colored people of property are generally slaveholders. It is quite common to see a colored lady in the streets, splendidly dressed—followed by a slave carrying her child. I conversed with a colored lady who owned 7 slaves. She spoke of the stupidity of the slave, his indolence and inability to take care of himself, and of having her slaves flogged, all with the nonchalance and contemptuous superiority of an American mistress.

NEGRO DEGRADATION.

The fruit of slavery is seen in the brutal degradation of the mass both of the free and slave population, and of wo-

I use the term negro in the general sense as it is understood in America, including blacks and mulattoes, or colored, both. In the West Indies there is a distinction between negroes (or blacks) and colored people.

man especially. Vast numbers throng the streets, sunbathing about half naked, or sitting in the shade of the houses, with their little stock of fruits or cakes for sale. Crowds of these poor females gather daily, almost hourly, before my window, jabbering in vulgar French with all their lungs and gesticulating most furiously. Sometimes they appeared to be in good humor, but not unfrequently they quarrelled fiercely, disputing and blackguarding, and every thing but absolutely fighting. They certainly verified the maxim, "woman's weapon is the tongue." Their vociferations were almost deafening. Yet it was remarkable that passers-by took no notice of these riotous assemblies, and in not a single instance was there any interference to disperse them. I supposed, at first, that the spot before my window was the common rendezvous place for these feminine affrays, but in walking out I found the same scenes enacting in all the most public parts of the town. The lower classes of the colored population might almost be said to live in the streets. Their shrill voices are the first sounds heard in the morning and the last that startles the slumbering ear at night. Go where you will, and you meet colored women, with their small trays on their head, and their hands busy with the art of gesticulation. The motto upon which they practice is the head for service, and the hands for gestures. They make their heads literally beasts of burthen. Every description of article, from a bundle of sticks to a China pitcher filled with wine, they carry on their heads, balancing them with the greatest accuracy. There is one article, and but one, which they do not carry on their heads. I mean, pickaninies, or their infants. These women are occasionally very cruel with their children. I have seen one woman chase her daughter, a girl of ten, through the streets with a cowhide in her hand, catch her, drag her home, and beat her until her screams might be heard above the noise of the jabbering street women along a whole square. This scene was repeated for three successive days. I am far from supposing that such cases are frequent; but if they were, the fact would not reflect in the least upon the natural disposition of the colored people; for where slavery reigns, the whip is the sceptre of the realm.

Another illustration of the degraded, semi-brutal condition of the negro population of St. Thomas, is the unblushing exposure of their young children. The mothers carry them about the streets, or have them sitting by their sides on the pavement, entirely naked. With infants this is generally the case. Occasionally I saw boys in a state of nudity, running through the streets. It is so common a thing here that it is not so much as noticed by the citizens.

SLAVERY IN ST. THOMAS.

Testimony of a Slaveholder and a Slave contrasted. I had quite opposite views of the slavery of St. Thomas given by different individuals. I first enquired of a slaveholding lady.

"She thought that the slaves led a very happy life. They were not worked hard, they were not flogged much, and they were certainly far better off than the free negroes, who were so stupid and lazy that they did not take care of themselves. She said moreover, that the master could not sell the slave unless the slave wished to be sold, and as for separating families as the Americans were said to do, they never dared to do such a thing in St. Thomas. A day or two after the above statements were made, I talked with the same lady's slave, a man of shrewdness and intelligence.

He said he had been a slave in several other islands, but he never had seen such hard times as he had experienced in St. Thomas.

He said if a master wished to sell his slave, and the slave would not consent, the master had him put into the Fort, (the main military post which guards the harbor and town) and kept him there until he was willing to be sold. Then he brought him out and sold him "with his own consent."

I would just state that I visited the Fort, alluded to by the slave, and saw the exterior of the dungeons, in which unruly slaves, i. e. such as are not willing to be sold, are confined. Massive bolts of iron secure the doors, and a high wall, surmounted with rows of broken glass bottles, effectually prevents escape. Such is the kind of reason, by which the slave's consent is gained. My informant mentioned another item, which appeared to him most grievous of all. When there is a scarcity of public laborers on the streets, the police men take up all slaves, whom they find on the streets after 8 o'clock at night, and lock them up in the Fort until next morning. If the masters do not choose then to pay \$11 and 8 odd bits (about 50 cts.) for the release of each slave, they are put to work on the streets for 8 days. The operation of this barbarous practice is rendered more severe from the fact, that when the laborers on the streets are abundant, the slaves are suffered to be out until 9 o'clock. Of course they can have no warning to place them on their guard. The police men pounce upon them at once, and hurry them away. The testimony of this slave concerning the severity of slavery in St. Thomas, was confirmed by another slave, with whom I met in taking a morning's walk. I had ascended the precipitous mountains in the rear of the town and having taken a view of the picturesque scenery around, and surveyed the distant prospect of sea and islands, was descending to the town.

About half-way down the winding road, which was so long and steep that I had been a half hour in ascending, I saw a young negro man who had stopped to rest. By his side were two large stones, which had been hewed out by the mason. The man had carried these stones from town on his head, and when I asked him how far he had still to carry them, he pointed to a building which stood on the pinnacle of one of the highest hills, and said, "up to dat house, massa." He told me that his master had hired him to the man that lived on the hill-top. His present employer was very kind to him, he said, and treated him well, (who would believe it after seeing the burthens which he laid upon him!) but his master was very cruel and whipped him often. "I asked him, if he could read or spell. He answered, 'No, massa, I got no larnin.' I asked him if he would like to be free—he replied he would like to be free, even if his master didn't treat him so cruelly. Upon my asking him if he knew where God was and if he loved God—his face lighted up with a smile—'O, yes, massa, I loves God—God be

[Continued on Fourth Page.]

Alton Observer and Christian Mirror.

In the Alton Observer of February 9, 1837, is a long editorial article, addressed to the Rev. J. A. Cummings, of the Christian Mirror. We make the following extract:

"And now for a fact or two going to confirm these two points, namely, the debased condition of the slaves, and the way in which ministers in the slave states 'curtail their sermons.'"

I know in Missouri two slaves, a man and a woman, (husband and wife, as they are called, though in fact the relation does not and cannot subsist,) who are both members of the Presbyterian church. I have heard the woman curse and swear, and use the most outrageous and indecent language a hundred times or more; and I have been with white members of the same church when they heard this language, yet never did I hear them rebuke her for her conduct, and she still retains her place in the church, and so far as the church records show, is as good a Christian as any one of its members. The husband, though not so openly wicked, I have seen busily at work all the Sabbath day, in the yard of a house where lived some of his brother white members. I have seen him when thus at work, frequently drink at the whiskey bottle; and when I informed some Christian members of the family in whose yard he was laboring, of what he was doing, and urged upon them the propriety and duty of putting a stop to his labors, they excused themselves from interfering on the plea that he was not their property!—"Did not belong to them," was the phrase. The picture will be complete when I add that this is the second man with whom this woman has lived, and had children by, as her husband, while her former husband is still living in the same place. Such is a specimen of Mr. Bailey's "church members." I might mention other cases which have come to my knowledge, as going to show the dreadful moral condition of the slaves, but I forbear; and some of them are of a nature not to be mentioned. I will only add, on this point, that being a few days since in Missouri, and conversing with a friend who resided in a village containing from 1200 to 1500 inhabitants, I asked him how many chaste female slaves he supposed there were in the village of the age of twenty years and upwards, and his reply was, "Not one." Now this man was a competent witness, as he has long resided in that place, is a member of the church and an officer in it, and is himself a slaveholder.

I come now to the question of "curtailing sermons." And how stands this matter? I suppose you will admit that no minister could, at the present time, in any of the slave states, preach what is called an "anti-slavery sermon," without being driven from his pulpit. Dr. Nelson attempted it in Missouri, and in consequence had to flee for his life from the state, some leading church members being foremost in the persecution. I have lived about 8 years in a slave state, and, except in one or two instances, I do not recollect ever to have heard slaveholders, whether in or out of the church, reproved for neglecting or abusing their slaves, although at the same time I have seen the slaves sitting out on the carriage box, through all the service, while their masters and mistresses, whom they drove to church, were worshipping with great devoutness within. I have known church members sell all their slaves, at one time, into distant captivity, where they were to go beyond the reach of Christian instruction, yet never did I hear the pastor rebuke the deed. To preach against intemperance and Sabbath breaking, against covetousness and murder, and yet to pass over slavery in silence, is, however you may regard it, in my opinion, "shunning to declare the whole counsel of God." I will give you a case in point.

Less than a year since, I heard, in a city of a slaveholding state, the pastor of a Presbyterian church preach from the text, "It is the price of blood." The speaker first adduced several reasons for the command that man should not kill his fellow man, such as that he had no right to take away what he could not restore, that it was insulting God to deface his image, &c. After briefly laying down these propositions, the main part of the discourse was occupied in showing what was and must be the moral character of those occupations which were necessarily pursued at the expense of human life. The property acquired in this way, he told us, should legitimately be called "the price of blood." He dwelt upon this point with a variety and force of illustration and remark, that was painfully interesting, because painfully true. He spoke of the young men that were destroyed in the prime of life, of the families that were beggared and the souls that were ruined, by the distillery and the dram shop; and he told those who made their property by this means, that the houses they dwelt in, and the fashionable dresses in which their wives and daughters appeared in the house of God, were the price of blood! At this point of the discourse, a deep and thrilling interest pervaded the audience—men held their breath in expectation of what was coming—and it was evident what subject was uppermost in the minds of all; but the speaker closed by saying that other practices and other traffics might be mentioned, whose gains were the price of blood; but he should forbear, as he did not think it proper or prudent (I forget which was the word) to mention them. Now there was not, I presume, a single individual among his audience, that did not understand the preacher as referring to slavery,—to the buying and selling human beings for the sake of gain. It was a topic of general conversation at the time, and some of the leading members of the church were, as I learned, a good deal offended at even this distant allusion, by way of condemnation, to the source of their unholy gains.

Now the preacher might have acted wisely, or he might not, in thus forbearing to speak of the sin of slavery. It is a question about which there will probably be a difference of judgment among good men; but in either alternative, my case is made good, that a minister cannot preach the whole truth to a slaveholding church and congregation. To dwell eloquently upon the sin of amassing money, by making and selling whiskey and rum, and at the same time to pass over in silence the practice of amassing it by enslaving and selling human beings, when preaching to a congregation guilty of both, looks to me very much, comparatively speaking, like enforcing the "lithes of mint and cummin," while the "weightier matters of the law" are forgotten. I have said that there will doubtless be a difference of opinion as to the propriety of the course pursued on this occasion; yet one thing is doubtless certain, had the preacher done otherwise, had he ventured to denounce slavery as he had denounced intemperance, he never would have gone into that pulpit again. His church would not have endured such doctrine, and many of its leading members would have been among the first and loudest to cry, "Crucify him, crucify him."

Yet I could not but feel at the time, that were I standing in his place, I should have done it, at whatever risk. As a minister of the gospel, I should not have dared to do otherwise. Nay, I felt that I would willingly have given one year of my life to have stood on the vantage ground which the speaker then occupied, to have had the ear of that audience as he had, and then to have poured upon their startled consciences the denunciations of God upon those who "oppress the poor and the needy, and the

stranger within their gates." I would have done it, tho' in so doing I had expended my last breath.

This letter has already extended much further than I at first intended, yet I cannot persuade myself to close it without a few additional remarks. It has been, and still is to me a source of great grief, to witness the course that you, Brother Cummings, together with the Editors of the Vermont Chronicle, the Boston Recorder, and the New York Observer, have pursued on the subject of slavery. These are all brethren, whom (though I have not the happiness to know them personally,) I highly respect. Separately, and together, you wield an incalculable moral influence, and I need not say that your responsibilities are correspondingly great. These brethren will, I am sure, pardon me, if I speak seriously, and in earnest, on this subject, for I speak in behalf of more than two millions of my fellow beings, who are not permitted to open their mouths to plead their own cause. And I therefore tell you plainly, that you seem to me not at all to have understood your responsibilities, in relation to the subject of slavery, or else to have trifled with them in a manner truly awful. I have seen the "Mirror," once and again, give the subject the go-by, with a dry joke or a half-concealed sarcasm, which none understand to use better than he; I have seen the "Recorder" and the "Chronicle," with columns after columns of their pages occupied by their acute and logical-minded editors, in reasoning coldly about sin and slavery in the abstract, when the living and awful reality was before them and around them; I have seen words and terms, and the precise amount of guilt, even to the twentieth part of a scruple, to be attached to this or that slaveholder, as coolly, and with as much indifference as if no manacled slaves stood before them, with uplifted hands and streaming eyes, beseeching them to knock off their galling, soul-corroding chains. I have seen the "N. York Observer" preach, week after week, and send to its hundred thousand readers, the most partial and injurious representations of the characters and motives of those engaged in freeing the slave from bondage, while its columns have been hermetically sealed to all reply or confutation. And, as I have seen these things, I have asked myself, how long, oh! how long, shall these beloved, but mistaken brethren, continue to abuse their influence, pervert the truth, and retard the salvation of the slave.

Dear brother, lay aside your metaphysical speculations, give up your undue attachment to well-worn theories, and look at the naked facts. If the wisdom of the school, cannot teach you the true character of slavery, come with me, and let us interrogate one another; untaught slave. He is just returning, faint and weary, from the toils of the day. He is an aged man, and has had for many years a practical acquaintance with slavery. Let us hear his reply to the question, "What is slavery?" "It is to have my back subjected to the cowhide or the cart whip, at the will or caprice of my master or any of his family. Every child has a right to curse or kick or cuff the old man. It is to depart from my bed every morning, with the sickening fear that before I return at night it will be visited by the slave-driving fiend. It is to return at night, and find my worst fears realized.—My first-born son, denied even the poor privilege of bidding his father farewell, is on his way, a chained and manacled victim, to a distant market, there to be disposed of in shambles, where human flesh and sinews are bought and sold. It is to enter my cabin, and see my wife or daughter struggling in the lustful embraces of my master, or some of his white friends, without daring to attempt their rescue; for should I open my lips to re-monstrate, a hundred lashes would be the consequence; and should I raise my hand to smite the brutal wretch, nothing but death could atone for the sacrilege." But above all, to be a slave is to be denied the privilege of reading the gospel of the Son of God, to have no control over my own children, and consequently to be deprived of the power and means of educating them in the principles of morality and religion. In one word, it is to be degraded from a man to a brute—to become, instead of a free moral agent, a thing, a piece of property, and to be used as such—to be deprived of all personal and civil rights—to be shut out from all enjoyment in this world and all hope in the next."

Such, brother Cummings, is slavery, not that slavery such as you may imagine or hope might exist, but slavery as it now actually exists in eleven of these United States, nay, such as it exists in the churches. And now, if you, and the brethren referred to, and others whom I might name, with these facts before you, resting not on my testimony only, but on that of hundreds of others, can deliberately make up your minds to continue to act the same parts which hitherto you have done, in relation to the present efforts to emancipate the slaves, why so be it. I cannot help it. Yet "my soul shall weep in secret places" over such abuse of influence, such a perversion of talent, such a desertion from the cause of bleeding humanity, by those who ought to be foremost and most zealous in its defence. You can do, and you are doing, much to retard those efforts, but in so doing, I declare to you my deliberate conviction, as I shall answer it at his bar, that you are fighting against God. The work I believe is his. He has owned it, he has set upon it the seal of his approbation, by raising up helpers for it when and where least expected. All good men, except, alas! a portion of the church in this country, are with it; the spirit of the age is with it; the precepts of the Gospel are all on its side, and he were an infidel to doubt of its success. It will succeed; it will triumph, and that much sooner, I think, than even its friends, generally, anticipate. You and I may yet live to have our ears gladdened and our hearts thrilled by the notes of that jubilee which shall sound from the Potomac to the Sabine, from the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico, proclaiming "liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." Oh, who would forego the privilege of feeling that he had a right to join in that jubilee!—that it had been hastened in part by his exertions!

With much Christian affection, I remain,
Your brother in the Lord,
ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY.

"So in Louisiana, where it is death for a slave to strike a white man, no matter what the provocation. In St. Louis county, a little more than a year since, a slave shot a white man dead as he was at work in his garden, Sabbath morning. The slave was not owned by the man killed, but the slave's wife was, and the cause which led to the crime was that the white man had taken the negro's wife from him, and appropriated her to himself."

Of course it is not pretended that this is true of every individual case, but the exceptions are so few as not to affect the general definition.

Well done Massachusetts.

RESOLUTIONS ON SLAVERY.—Our readers will recollect the resolutions on the subject of slavery that recently passed the House of Representatives in Massachusetts. The last of those resolutions was as follows:

Resolved, That Congress having exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, possesses the right to abolish slavery in said District, and that its exercise should only be restrained by a regard to the public good.

The resolutions were sent to the Senate, and on Wednesday the 29th ult., came up for consideration in that body, and when this third resolution was read, a motion

was made to strike it out and substitute the following: Resolved, That Congress, having exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, possesses the right to abolish slavery and the slave trade therein; and that the early exercise of such right is demanded by the enlightened sentiment of the civilized world, by the principles of the revolution, and by humanity.

On motion of Mr. Allen, of Worcester, the question was taken by the yeas and nays, and determined unanimously in the affirmative, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Adams, Bowman, Cushing, Fitch, Hancock, Joy, Lawrence, Marston, Parker, Allen, Chapin, Dorr, French, Handy, Kimball, Livingston, Oliver, Pope, Bacon, Child, Fairbanks, Gurney, Hudson, Kingman, Mann, Palfrey, Quincy, Russell, Tenney, B. P. Williams, Shove, Turner, Sprague, Whitmarsh, H. Williams.—35.

Nays—None.

So said amendment was adopted unanimously!

Mr. Allen moved further to amend said resolves, by adding thereto as follows, viz:—

Resolved, That slavery being an admitted moral and political evil, whose continuance, wherever it exists is vindicated mainly on the ground of necessity, it should be circumscribed within the limits of the states where it has been already established, and that no new state should hereafter be admitted into the Union, whose constitution of government shall sanction or permit the existence of domestic slavery.

On motion of Mr. Adams, the question on said amendment was taken by yeas and nays, and determined in the affirmative as follows, viz:

Yeas—Messrs. Adams, Bowman, Cushing, Gurney, Hudson, Kingman, Mann, Palfrey, Quincy, Sprague, Whitmarsh, Allen, Chapin, Fairbanks, Hancock, Joy, Lawrence, Marston, Parker, Russell, Tenney, B. P. Williams, Bacon, Child, Fitch, Handy Kimball, Livingston, Oliver, Pope, Shove, Turner, H. Williams.—33.

Nay—Mr. French.

So said amendment was adopted with only one dissenting vote!

Mr. Whitmarsh then offered the following, which on motion of Mr. Hudson was laid on the table, and the Senate adjourned.

Resolved, That Congress in declaring the slave trade on the coast of Africa, piracy, has performed an act worthy the descendants of those who declared for "liberty or death," and in strict accordance with the principles on which our republic is founded; an act which meets a hearty response from the citizens of Massachusetts, and the humane throughout the civilized world.

Resolved, That the licensing by Congress of slave dealers for a like traffic, or permitting it in the District of Columbia, over which Congress has exclusive jurisdiction, and from which a revenue is derived to the United States, has a direct tendency to degrade the American character in the eyes of the civilized world; is a violation of the equal rights affirmed in the Declaration of Independence, and made the basis of the constitution; and unjust to this Commonwealth, as one of the independent states of the Union, by compelling her indirectly to participate in a traffic proclaimed by all civilized and christian nations to be a violation of the laws of God, and the rights of man, and therefore it ought to be immediately abolished.

Thursday, March 30.—The resolves concerning slavery were taken up, and Mr. Cushing moved a reconsideration of the vote by which the senate adopted the resolution moved by Mr. Allen, and after considerable debate this question was ordered to be taken by yeas and nays, and being so taken, was decided in the negative as follows:—

Yeas—Messrs. Cushing, French and Hastings.—3.
Nays—Messrs. Adams, Allen, Bowman, Chapin, Dorr, Fairbanks, Gurney, Hancock, Hudson, Joy, Kimball, Kingman, Lawrence, Livingston, Mann, Marston, Palfrey, Parker, Pope, Quincy, Sprague, Tenney, Turner, Whitmarsh, H. Williams.—26.

Friday, March 31.—The resolves again came up, and Mr. Turner of Plymouth, moved the following amendment, viz:—

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor, be requested to transmit a copy of those resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to the governors of the several states.

At the request of Mr. Adams, of Essex, the question was divided; and being stated on the first branch of the amendment, on motion of Mr. Livingston, of Middlesex, it was taken by yeas and nays, and determined in the affirmative, as follows, viz:—

Yeas—Messrs. Adams, Allen, Bowman, Child, Dorr, Fairbanks, French, Hancock, Hastings, Hudson, Kimball, Kingman, Livingston, Mann, Marston, Oliver, Palfrey, Parker, Pope, Quincy, Sprague, Tenney, Turner, Whitmarsh, B. P. Williams, H. Williams.—26.
Nay—Mr. Cushing.

So said proposition was adopted.

The question was then stated on the second branch of the proposed amendment, viz: "And to the Governors of the several states." Mr. French of Norfolk, moved that it be laid on the table; and on motion of Mr. Whitmarsh, of Bristol, this question was taken by Yeas and nays, and determined in the affirmative, as follows, viz:—

Yeas—18.
Nays—9.

So said proposition was laid on the table.

The question was then stated on the passage of the Resolves, as amended, to a second reading; and the question being divided, and stated on the first resolve [which declares the resolution of the U. S. House of Representatives on the subject of petitions, an usurpation of power, injurious to the cause of freedom, a violation of the natural and inherent rights of man, &c.] on motion of Mr. Turner, the question on each was ordered to be taken by yeas and nays—and being taken on the first resolve, it was determined in the affirmative, as follows, viz:—

Yeas—32.

Nays—Mr. Cushing—1.

The question was then stated on the passage of the second resolve [which commands the Senators and Representatives of the commonwealth in Congress for the first stand they took in defence of the right of petition] and determined in the affirmative—the same gentlemen voting in the affirmative and negative as on the first.

The question was then stated on the passage of the third resolve [declaring the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the importance of an "early exercise" of the right] and determined in the affirmative—Messrs. Cushing and Quincy voting in the affirmative.

The question was then taken on the passage of the 4th resolve, [declaring that no new state ought to be admitted into the Union, whose constitution permits the existence of domestic slavery] and determined in the affirmative—yeas 29, nays 4—Messrs. Cushing, French, Hastings and Quincy voted in the negative, the other twenty-nine in the affirmative.

So much of the vote requiring the yeas and nays as applied to the fifth resolve was then, on motion of Mr. Turner, reconsidered, and said resolve passed. So said resolves as amended, were ordered to a 2d reading.

Such is the history of these resolutions on their passage to a second reading. On Tuesday April 4th, they were finally passed by the Senate with the same unanimity.

More Proscription.

A correspondent of the Ohio Republican, writes from Columbus, under date of March 18th, as follows:

"This day a bill passed the House of Representatives to dispose of the surplus revenue, which is to be appropriated among the different counties according to the number of free WHITE male inhabitants above twenty-one years of age."

So then the free colored "inhabitant" is an outlaw in Ohio. Shame on such republicanism. A monarchy were better.—Emancipator.

From the Quincy Patriot.
Letter from John Quincy Adams.

WASHINGTON, 8th March, 1837.

To the inhabitants of the Twelfth Congressional District of Massachusetts:—

FELLOW CITIZENS.—When on the 6th of February last, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States transferred to the House the responsibility of answering the question which I had addressed to him, whether a petition, which I held in my hand, purporting to come from slaves, was or was not embraced in the resolution of the preceding 18th of January, prescribing that all such papers should be laid on the table, without being printed or referred, and without any further action of the House upon them whatever, the most characteristic of the debate which followed, was the struggle of the slave representation to escape from answering the question: They never did answer it. There are in the House one hundred representatives of slaves, about eighty of whom were present. There was not a man among them who did not know, or who dared to deny, that it was included in that resolution, and the first of them who rose, Mr. Haynes of Georgia, after expressing his astonishment and surprise at its audacity, not only then, but on former occasions, in presenting abolition petitions, fairly acknowledged that he did not know how to answer my question, and thought it might be giving too much importance to the petition to object to its being received. He then proceeded in a strain of invective upon me, till I called him to order; upon which he proceeded to announce his intention to move that the petition should be rejected, subject to the alternative of a permission that it should be withdrawn. But I had not presented the petition. It was not in the possession of the House, and therefore could neither be rejected, nor by the order of the House withdrawn. Besides, the impulse of the slave representation was not to answer the question, but to punish, or at least to frighten, the enquirer. Mr. Haynes was immediately admonished that no slaveholder must offer such a motion and immediately withdrew that which he had proposed to make. The torrid zone was in commotion. Half-subdued calls of expel him, expel him, were heard from various parts of the Hall, and the boldest spirits, without yet venturing upon any specific charge, were instigating each other to some deed of noble daring and of instant execution, to vindicate the insulted honor of the South. At this moment, Mr. John M. Patton, of Virginia, the representative of the District of which Fredericksburg forms a part, one of the ablest, most independent, and most rational of the slaveholding members, seeing into what absurdities they were about to rush, attempted to divert the torrent of their wrath into another channel. He said he was for going to the fountain head at once, and asked leave to offer a resolution, not concerning the petition from slaves, but that the petition from nine women of Fredericksburg, which had been received and laid on the table under the order of the 18th of January, should be taken off the table and returned to the member from Massachusetts, who had offered it. The rules of the House were forthwith suspended, to enable him to offer it; and he did offer it. The reason he alleged for his resolution was that the petition came from free negroes, and colored persons of bad character. This was ingeniously devised but did not suit the fiery temper of the moment. One member was of opinion, that if the gentleman from Massachusetts was to receive any countenance from the House, it was time for the members of the South to go home. Another thought that if any man should disgrace the government under which he lived, by presenting a petition from slaves praying for emancipation, the petition should, by order of the House, be committed to the flames, to which combustion another member opined that the man who should present the petition should also be consigned. The furnace was now sufficiently heated, and Mr. Thompson, of South Carolina, a gentleman of great politeness and courtesy, offered as an amendment to the proposition, the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Honorable John Quincy Adams, by the attempt just made by him to introduce a petition, purporting on its face to be from slaves, has been guilty of a gross disrespect to the House, and that he be instantly brought to the bar, to receive the severe censure of the Speaker.

This was the first of a series of resolutions which absorbed three days of the time of the House, but upon which I shall not now waste yours. I invite your attention to it now, only to request you to mark its characteristic tone. Mr. Jefferson has remarked that the intercourse between master and slave is a perpetual succession of boisterous and degrading passions—and it is in the order of nature that the habitual indulgence of this temper of overbearing dominion, insensibly pervades the general character of the master, and urges him to assume a tone of superiority over his equals, and to hold this lofty bearing just so far as he finds it tolerated without rebuke. On the floor of the House of Representatives, the members, whether representing slaves or mere freemen, are upon a footing of perfect equality with each other. Can you believe that your Representative, on that common floor, for asking of the Speaker the simple question, whether a petition from slaves came within the resolution of the House, which it unquestionably did, became from that instant in the eyes of these master-members, a criminal to be punished, and that the only question between them was whether he should be instantly dragged to the bar, and severely censured by a master-speaker, or expelled from the House, or burnt with his petition at the stake?

The whole transaction from beginning to end was in the highest degree disorderly. The resolution offered by Mr. Waddy Thompson was itself wholly out of order as an amendment to Mr. Patton's resolution, which related to a subject altogether different. The Speaker's duty was to reject at once Mr. Thompson's resolution as out of order; but the Speaker was a master, and he received it. Mr. Thompson's resolution was tinkered between him and Mr. Haynes and Mr. Lewis of Alabama, till it assumed the following shape:

"Resolved, That John Quincy Adams, a member from the State of Massachusetts, by his attempts to introduce into this House a petition from slaves, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, committed an outrage on the rights and feelings of a large portion of the people of this Union; a flagrant contempt of the dignity of this

House; and by extending to slaves a privilege only belonging to freemen, directly invites the slave population to insurrection; and that the said member be forthwith called to the bar of the House, to be censured by the Speaker."

My constituents! reflect upon the purport of this resolution, which was immediately accepted by Mr. Thompson, as a modification of his own, and as unhesitatingly received by the Speaker. He well knew that I had made no attempt to introduce in the House a petition from slaves, and if I had, he well knew that I should have done no more than exercise my right as a member of the House, and that the utmost extent of the power of the House would have been to refuse to receive the petition. The duty of the Speaker was to reject instantaneously this resolution, and to tell Mr. Lewis and Mr. Thompson, that the first of his obligations was to protect the rights of speech of members of that House, which I had not in the least degree infringed. But the Speaker was a master.

Observe, too, that in this resolution the notable discovery was first made, that I had directly invited the slaves to insurrection, of which bright thought Mr. Thomas afterwards availed himself, to threaten me with the Grand Jury of the District and the Penitentiary, as an incendiary and a felon. I pray you to remember this, not on my account, or from the suspicion that I could, or shall ever, be moved from my purpose by such menaces, but to give you the measure of slaveholding freedom—of speech, of the press, of action, of thought! If such a question as I asked of the Speaker is a direct invitation of the slaves to insurrection, forfeiting all my rights as a representative of the people, subjecting me to indictment by a grand jury, to conviction by a petit jury, and to an infamous penitentiary cell—I ask you not what freedom of speech is left to your Representative in Congress, but what freedom of speech, of the press, and of thought, is left to you?

A slaveholding President of the United States has urgently recommended to Congress the enactment of a law to prohibit, under severe penalties, the circulation in the Southern States, through the mail, of incendiary publications, intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection. That Law the Congress of the United States have hitherto had too much self-respect to pass. But if it had, this resolution, the fruit of the combined wisdom of slave representation from South Carolina and Alabama, furnishes for your use an ample commentary to expound what they understand and mean by incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection; and what they of course would have excluded by severe penalties from circulation by the mail.

Mr. Patton, whose seat was next to mine, and at the same table, had got a hint perhaps from me, or from hearing my answer to some enquirer at my seat, that the petition was not for the abolition of slavery, and he knew that I had not attempted to offer it; he therefore cautioned the movers of the resolutions, that their proceedings were rather harsh, and somewhat over-hasty in their assumption of facts. This gave me the first opportunity of interposing a word of self-defence—for which I refer you to my next address.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Expostulatory Letter to George Washington, of Virginia.

BY EDWARD RUSHTON, OF LIVERPOOL.

February 20, 1797.

It will generally be admitted, Sir, and perhaps with justice, that the great family of mankind were never more benefited by the military abilities of any individual, than by those which you displayed during the memorable American contest. Your country was injured, your services were called for, you immediately arose, and after performing the most conspicuous part in that blood-stained tragedy, you again became a private citizen, and unambiguously retired to your farm. There was more of true greatness in this procedure than the modern world, at east, had ever beheld; and while public virtue is venerated by your countrymen, a conduct so exalted will not be forgotten. The effects which your revolution will have upon the world are incalculable. By the flame which you have kindled, every oppressed nation will be enabled to perceive its fetters; and when man once knows that he is enslaved, the business of emancipation is half performed. France has already burst her shackles, neighboring nations will in time prepare, and another half century may behold the present be-cotted Europe without a Peer, without a Hierarchy, and without a Despot. If men were enlightened, revolutions would be bloodless; but how are men to be enlightened, when it is the interest of governors to keep the governed in ignorance? "To enlighten men," says your old correspondent, Arthur Young, "is to make them bad subjects." Hurricanes spread devastation; yet hurricanes are not only transient, but give salubrity to the torrid regions, and are quickly followed by a azure skies and calm sunshine. Revolutions, too, for a time, may produce turbulence; yet revolutions clear the political atmosphere, and contribute greatly to the comfort and happiness of the human race. What you yourself have lived to witness in the United States, is sufficient to elucidate my position. In your rides along the banks of your favorite Potomac, in your frequent excursions thro' your own extensive grounds, how gratifying must be your sensations on beholding the animated scenery around you, and how pleasurable must be your feelings, on reflecting that your country is now an asylum for mankind; that her commerce, her agriculture, and her population, are greater than at any former period; and that this prosperity is the natural result of those rights which you defended against an abandoned cabinet, with all that ability which men, who unseath the sword in the cause of human nature, will, I trust, ever display. Where Liberty is, there man walks erect, and puts forth all his powers; while slavery like a torped, benumbs the finest energies of the soul. But it is not to the Commander in Chief of the American forces, nor to the President of the United States that I have aught to address; my business is with George Washington, of Mount Vernon, in Virginia, a man who, notwithstanding his hatred of oppression and his ardent love of liberty, holds at this moment, hundreds of his fellow beings in a state of abject bondage. Yes, you, who conquered under the banners of freedom—you, who are now the first magistrate of a free people, are (strange to relate) a slaveholder. That a Liverpool merchant should endeavor to enrich himself by such a business character, strongly enameled of your own freedom—you who, if the British forces had succeeded in the Eastern States, would have retired, with a few congenial spirits, to the rude fastnesses of the Western wilderness, there to have enjoyed that blessing without which a Paradise would be disgusting, and with which the most savage region is not without its charms: that you, I say, should continue a slaveholder, a proprietor of human flesh and blood, creates in many of your British friends both astonishment and regret.—You are a republican, an advocate for the dissemination of knowledge, and for universal justice—where then are the arguments by which this shameless dereliction of principle can be supported? Your friend Jefferson has endeavored to show that the negroes are an infe-

rior order of beings; but surely you will not have recourse to such a subterfuge. Your slaves, it may be urged, are well treated.—That I deny—man can never be well treated who is deprived of his rights. They are well clothed, well lodged, &c. Feed me with ambrosia, and wash it down with nectar; yet what are these, if Liberty be wanting? You take up arms in defence of the rights of man. Your negroes were men;—where then are the rights of your negroes? Have they been injured to slavery, and are not fit for freedom. Thus it was said of the French; but where is the man of unbiased common sense, who will assert that the French republicans of the present day are not fit for freedom? It has been said too by your apologists, that your feelings are inimical to slavery; that you are induced to acquiesce in it at present merely from motives of policy. The only true policy is justice; and he who regards the consequences of an act, rather than the justice of it, gives no very exalted proof of the greatness of his character. But if your feelings be actually repugnant to slavery, then are you more culpable than the callous-hearted planter, who laughs at what he calls the pitiful whining of the abolitionists, because he believes slavery to be justifiable: while you persevere in a system which your conscience tells you to be wrong. If we call the man an abductor, who cannot perceive the atrociousness of slavery, what epithets does he deserve, who, while he perceives its atrociousness, continues to be a proprietor of slaves! nor is it likely that your unfortunate negroes are the only sufferers by this nefarious business; consider the force of an example like yours, consider how many of the sable race may now be pining in bondage, merely, forsooth, because the President of the United States, who has the character of a wise and good man, does not see cause to discontinue the long established practice. Of all the slaveholders under heaven, those of the United States appear to me the most reprehensible; for man is never so truly odious as when he inflicts upon others that which he himself abominates.

When the cup of Slavery was presented to your countrymen, they rejected it with disdain, and appealed to the world in justification of their conduct; yet such is the inconsistency of man, that thousands upon thousands of those very people, with yourself among the number, are now sedulously employed in holding the self-same bitter draught to the lips of their sable brethren. From men who are strongly attached to their own rights, and who have suffered much in their defence, one might have expected a scrupulous attention to the rights of others; did not experience show, that when we ourselves are oppressed, we perceive it with a lynx's eye; but when we become the oppressor no noon-tide bats are blinder. Prosperity perhaps may make nations as well as individuals forget the distress of other times; yet surely the citizens of America cannot so soon have forgotten the variety and extent of their own sufferings. When your country lay bruised by the iron hand of despotism, and you were compelled to retreat through the Jerseys with a handful of half naked followers,—when the bayonet of the mercenary glistened at your back, and Liberty seemed about to expire,—when your farms were laid waste, your towns reduced to ashes and your plains and woods were strewn with the mangled bodies of your brave defenders; when these events were taking place every breast could feel, and every tongue could excrete the sanguinary proceedings of Britain; yet what the British were at that period, you are in a great degree at this—you are boastful of your own rights—you are violators of the rights of others, and you are stimulated by an insatiable rapacity, to a cruel and relentless oppression. If the wrongs which you now inflict be not so severe as those which were inflicted upon you, it is not because you are less inhuman than the British, but because the unhappy objects of your tyranny have not the power of resistance. In defending your own liberties, you undoubtedly suffered much; yet if your negroes, emulating the spirited example of their masters, were to throw off the galling yoke, and, retiring peaceably to some uninhabited part of the western region, where to resolve on Liberty or Death, what would be the conduct of southern planters on such an occasion! Nay, what would be your conduct? You were 'born in a land of liberty,' who 'early learned its value,' you, who 'engaged in a perilous conflict to defend it,' you, who, 'in a word, devoted the best years of your life to secure its permanent establishment in your own country, and whose anxious recollections, whose sympathetic feelings, and whose best wishes are irresistibly excited whenever in any country, you see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom,' possessed of those energetic sentiments, what would be your conduct? Would you have the virtue to applaud so just and animating a movement as a revolt of your southern negroes? No! I fear both you and your countrymen would rather imitate the cold blooded British Cabinet, and to gratify your own sordid views would scatter among an unoffending people, terror, desolation, and death. Harsh as this conclusion may appear, it is warranted by your present practice; for the man who can boast of his own rights, yet hold two or three hundred of his fellow beings in slavery, would not hesitate in case of a revolt, to use the most sanguinary means in his power, rather than forego that which the truly republican laws of his country are pleased to call his property. Shame! shame! that man should be deemed the property of man, or that the name of Washington should be found among the list of such proprietors.

Should these strictures be deemed severe or unmerited on your part, how comes it, that while in the northern and middle states, the exertions of the virtuous Quakers, and other philanthropists, have produced such regulations as most speedily eradicate every trace of slavery in that quarter; how comes it, that from you these humane efforts have never received the least countenance! If your mind has not sufficient firmness to do away that which is wrong the moment you perceive it to be such, one might have expected that a plan for ameliorating the evil would have met with your warmest support; but no such thing. The just example of a majority of the States has had no visible effect upon you; and as to the men of Maryland, of Virginia, of the two Carolinas, of Georgia, and of Kentucky, they smile contemptuously at the idea of negro emancipation, and with the State Constitutions in one hand, and the cow-skin in the other, exhibit to the world such a spectacle, as every real friend of Liberty must from his soul abominate.

Then what is man, and what man seeing this, And having human feelings, does not blush And hang his head to think himself a man? Man does not readily perceive defects in what he has been accustomed to venerate; hence it is that your slave proprietorship has so long merited. For seven years you bravely fought the battles of your country, and contributed greatly to the establishment of her liberties; yet you are a slaveholder!—You have been raised by your fellow citizens to one of the most exalted situations upon the earth, the chief magistrate of a free people; yet you are a slaveholder! A majority of your countrymen have recent-

ly discovered that slavery is unjust, and are gradually abolishing the wrong; yet you continue to be a slaveholder! You are a firm believer, too, and your letters and speeches are replete with pious reflections on the Divine Being, Providence, &c.; yet you are a slaveholder! Oh! Washington, ages to come will read with astonishment that the man who was foremost to wrench the rights of America from the tyrannical grasp of Britain, was among the last to relinquish his own oppressive hold of poor and unoffending negroes.

In the name of justice, what can induce you to tarnish your own well earned celebrity, and to impair the fair features of American liberty with so foul a blot? Avarice is said to be the vice of age. Your slaves, old and young, male and female, father, mother, and child, might, in the estimation of a Virginia planter, be worth from fifteen to twenty thousand pounds. Now, Sir, are you sure that the unwillingness which you have shown to liberate your negroes, does not proceed from some lurking pecuniary considerations? If this be the case, and there are those who firmly believe it is, then there is no flesh left in your heart; and present reputation, future fame, and all that is estimable among the virtuous, are for a few thousand pieces of paltry yellow dirt, irremediably renounced.

EDWARD RUSHTON.

From the Plaindealer.

An Argument against Abolition Refuted.

A calm and temperate writer appeared sometime since in the American, under the signature of a Virginian, who founded an argument against the abolition of slavery on certain facts derived from a comparison of the tables of mortality of the blacks in a state of servitude and in a state of freedom. The result of his statistics was to show that the mortality of free blacks is greater than that of slaves, and greater than that of whites also; while the longevity of slaves exceeds even that of their masters. The inference of the writer was that humanity required the slaves to be left in that condition which facts showed to be most favorable to long life. We put aside the paper containing this article at the time, intending to make it the subject of some comments; but getting accidentally mislaid, the topic passed from our mind. Our attention is now again called to it, by a very clear exposition of the opposite view of the main question, in a communication which also appears in the American. We copy a portion of the latter article.

"It is true that where all moral checks are removed, where the means of subsistence are sufficient to supply the demands of nature, and where no extraordinary causes of mortality are in operation, the human species will rapidly multiply. Hence the astonishing and terrific growth of the slave population, far exceeding that of the white. Does it however follow, because the slaves have children faster than their masters, that therefore their condition is preferable? But my opponent may say, that he has appealed not to birth, but to deaths. Of course, if slaves multiply faster than free blacks, they cannot die as fast. Now it appears from the table of mortality given by your correspondent, that the whites in Baltimore die faster than the slaves! What inference shall we draw from this fact—that the slaves are more comfortable and happy than the whites! Why not, if it be a fair inference from a similar fact, that the slaves are better off than the free blacks? I would appeal to the candor of a Virginian and ask, if he would be willing to take the place of a slave on a cotton plantation, in consideration of the increased chance he would then have, of reaching a good old age. He shows us that the average annual mortality of the whites in New York is 1 in 36; in Philadelphia 1 in 50, and in Baltimore 1 in 43. Now, in the Auburn State Prison, the mortality, by the last report, is 1 in 65. The plain diet, comfortable clothing, regular hours, and constant exercise enjoyed at Auburn, are far more favorable to longevity, than the penury and excesses of a city life. Would it therefore, be a humane act, were it possible, to lock up the inhabitants of our cities, and compel them to labor for the benefit of others? Your correspondent seems to think that the mortality of free negroes will, in time, be no longer comparative, but total. He speaks of the inevitable struggle which must ensue between them and the whites, for subsistence; and says, the period 'must arrive which is to effect for one party, a maximum for the other—annihilation.' Most fully do I admit the tendency of the free black population, both at the North and at the South, under existing circumstances, to decay and annihilation; but widely do I differ from him as to the cause and necessity of this tendency, and also as to the inference he would draw from it. He seems to think this tendency is the inevitable consequence of competition between the whites and the free blacks for subsistence, and the inability of the latter to sustain the struggle. Now, I insist this tendency arises, not from a competition with the whites, but from a cruel and unrighteous prohibition of such competition. The free blacks are prevented by prejudice and legal restraints, from resorting to innumerable modes of supporting themselves and their families, by honest industry. Here, at the North, Connecticut has her black act to keep them in ignorance, and a Judge Daggett to prove that they are not citizens! Canaan and Canterbury have mobs to destroy their schools. New York virtually denies them the right of suffrage, and so do most of the other states. Our colleges and seminaries exclude them; the professions are sealed against them; and your mayor forbids them to drive a cart! They are prohibited, if not by law, yet in fact, from pursuing any but menial occupations. At the South, they are expressly prohibited by penal enactments from entering into competition with the whites for their subsistence. I should trespass too much on your space, were I to enumerate a moiety of these enactments. I will confine myself to your correspondent's own state and to Maryland, in which, as he shows us, free blacks die faster than slaves. In Virginia, if free negroes, or their children, assemble at a school to learn reading and writing, any justice of the peace may dismiss the school with twenty stripes on the back of each scholar. So much for competition in learning! In Maryland, the law forbids all persons, under a penalty of five dollars, from purchasing of a negro 'any bacon, pork, beef, mutton, corn, wheat, tobacco, rye, or oats,' unless he shall, at the time, exhibit a certificate from a justice of the peace, or three respectable persons, that they believe said negro came honestly by the identical article offered for sale. So much for competition in agriculture! A Justice of the Peace may order a free negro's ears to be cut off for striking a white man. So much for competition in self-defence! Again, by a recent statute, a free negro, convicted of any crime not capital, no matter how trivial, may, by order of the court, be transported into some foreign country.—In other words, colonized in Liberia. So much for the impartiality of the laws. And now I ask, is it any wonder free negroes are poor and ignorant and depraved, or that they are tending to annihilation? We touched, in our last number, on some of the subjects embraced in the foregoing extract, when commenting

on Mr. Calhoun's statement of the security of the slaves, as a proof of the superior happiness of their condition to that of the free white laborers of the North. Their superior longevity may be doubly accounted for, for, on the one hand, while labor and simple diet are favorable to life, on the other, the habits of luxurious indolence which slaveholders fall into have the opposite effect. Such a comparison, as the writer to whom the foregoing extract is in answer, seeks to institute, can be fair only when drawn between blacks in a state of servitude and blacks really free. What would be the effect of absolute and equal freedom on the black race in this country, is an experiment which has not yet been tried, and which, in the nature of things, cannot be tried very soon; for we have not only to do away the legal disabilities now imposed on those negroes whom we term free, but who are free only in a qualified sense, but we have also to do away the disabilities which exist in general and deep-rooted prejudices. Opinion is tending in that direction; but its progress is slow, and a long period must elapse before the reformation will be complete. The day will come when the claims of the American black race to all the privileges and immunities of equal political freedom will be fully acknowledged, and when the prejudices of society will give way before the steady influence of truth, enlightened reason, and comprehensive philanthropy. But before that time, any argument, founded on a comparison of the different rates of mortality between negroes in a state of slavery and those in a state of bastard freedom, must be wholly defective, even to the extent of proving the opposite influences on life of the two conditions of liberty and bondage. But even after that time, the argument, whatever might be the facts, would not answer the purpose for which it is produced; since longevity is but one of many circumstances which constitute the happiest condition of man. The writer from whom we have borrowed the extract to which we are appending these remarks, has shown that if it were the sole fact to be regarded, the condition of the convicts in our prisons is better than that of the most virtuous portion of society. The savages of our wilderness, before the poison of the distillery was introduced among them, enjoyed longer life, and were more exempt from disease, than the most educated and refined classes of our cities.—

But who infers from thence That such were happier, shocks a common sense.

From Zion's Watchman.

Specimens of Anti-Slavery Zeal.

Various have been the efforts of our opponents to put a stop to the anti-slavery cause. The pen, the press, the gag-law, Lynch-law, stripes and death, have been combined to put down this righteous enterprise. The following are specimens of some of the rewards which have been offered, as it is supposed, to procure the abduction, and perhaps the murder of citizens of this republic. Others might be added to this list, if we had them at command.

From the Millidgeville [Ga.] Federal Union.

\$10,000 Reward, for A. A. Phelps, a noted Abolitionist.

Who is now spreading the detestable doctrines in the New England States, and who is hired by the Tappanites at the rate of \$1200 per annum. The above reward will be paid on his delivery in Savannah, to the Sheriff of Chatham county.

MANY CITIZENS.

Feb. 1, 1836.—3t—32.

•• Editors at the North, who are opposed to the abolition incendiaries, are requested to give the above notice one insertion in their respective papers.

The same paper which contains the above has also numerous advertisements of men and women for sale. Among these, is one advertising the sale together, of a MAN, two HORSES, and a MULE!

From the Louisiana Journal.

The following has been handed to us by the Committee of Vigilance of the Parish of East Feliciana, for publication:

\$50,000 Reward!

The above reward will be given, on the delivery to the Committee of Vigilance, for the parish of East Feliciana, La., of the notorious abolitionist, ARTHUR TAPPAN, of New York.

Papers opposed to abolition throughout the U. S. are requested to give publicity to the above.

Jackson, La., Oct. 15, 1835.

\$50,000 Reward.

MOUNT MEIGS, Montgomery Co., Ala.

La Roy Sunderland:

Sir—You are the editor of the Zion's Watchman.—You will much oblige the community of Mount Meigs by coming here. We will give you fifty thousand dollars for you, or to any person who will bring you to this place. I send you a copy of the preamble and resolutions which passed here in a meeting that was held here yesterday:—

"At a public meeting, held by the citizens of Mount Meigs, on the 13th of August, 1836, after the object of the meeting was stated by the Hon. Bidford Ginress, a resolution was offered by S. B. Conderfen, Esq.,

"Resolved, That we, the members of this community, do offer fifty thousand dollars for the apprehension of A. Tappan, Brother & Co., and the editor of (the fire-brand to the South) Zion's Watchman, La Roy Sunderland, or any of those enemies of the rights of man, styled 'abolitionists.'

"Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the different newspapers in the town of Montgomery, and a copy be sent to each of A. Tappan & Co.'s gang of lawless cut-throats.

BIDFORD GINRESS, Ch'n.

R. R. RINGGOLD, Sec'y.

August 13, 1836."

\$500 Reward.

Will be paid by the Louisiana Constitution and Anti-Factional Association, to any person who will denounce and furnish said society such evidence as will procure the conviction of any Abolitionist, or person concerned with the anti-slavery society, or who has been guilty of violating the laws of this State against instigators or leaders of sedition amongst the slaves of this state.

\$100,000 Reward.

To La Roy Sunderland,

Editor of Zion's Watchman, New York:

I can only give one reason why you have not been indicted for the libel.—The law says, the greater the truth the greater the libel—and as your paper has no such ingredient, it is construed but a small matter; but if you desire to educate the slaves, I will tell you how to raise the money, without editing Zion's Watchman.—You and old Arthur Tappan came out to the South this winter, and they will raise One Hundred Thousand Dollars for you.—New Orleans of herself will be pledged for it. Desiring no further acquaintance with you, and never expecting to see you but once in time or in eternity, which is at Judgment, I subscribe myself the friend of the Bible, and the opposer of abolitionists.

J. C. POSTELL.

Orangeburg, July 21, 1836.

The writer of the above is a Methodist minister, and a member of the South Carolina Conference!

Thompson, the Abolitionist.

That infamous foreign scoundrel, Thompson, will hold forth this afternoon at the Liberator Office, No. 48 Wash-

ington street. The present is a fair opportunity for the friends of the Union to make Thompson out! It will be a contest between the Abolitionists and the friends of the Union. A purse of \$100 has been raised by a number of patriotic citizens to award the individual who shall first lay violent hands on Thompson, so that he may be brought to the tar kettle before dark. Friends of the Union, be vigilant!

Boston, Wednesday, 12 o'clock.

The foregoing was circulated in the streets of Boston on the memorable 21st of Oct. 1835.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, MAY 3, 1837.

New Societies.

Kingsville A. S. Society recently organized. Number of members Fifty-six.

Officers.—Hiram Barrett, President; Artemas Luce Esq., Vice President; Nathan Wakefield, Cor. and Rec. Secretary; Barron S. Noyes, Treasurer; Jonathan Gillet, Samuel Newton, and Ichabod Curtis, Directors.

Israel Township A. S. Society formed in January, 1837.—Forty members.

JOHN CALDWELL, President.

NATHAN BROWN, Sec'y.

Pro-Slavery Frauds in Literature.

Carey, Lea and Blanchard, of Philadelphia, have re-published an English work, entitled, "Minor Morals for young people, illustrated in Tales and Travels" by John Bowring, omitting altogether the chapter on SLAVERY.

We trust, that in the North, at least, such a "base bowing of the knee to the dark spirit of Slavery," will find no encouragement; and that booksellers, who practice such frauds on authors and on the reading public, will be taught that they are not only disreputable but unprofitable.

COMMUNICATIONS.

The Professing Church—Ancient and Modern.

When the Lord Jesus was upon earth, fulfilling his ministry, he found among the people (who all bore the name of Jews), some who professed and claimed to be, above the rest, the people or church of God; and who not only carried out their profession to great lengths, but were recognized by the community at large, as the religious standard of the time. Yet, in fact, the church had greatly departed from its original constitution and had adopted numerous opinions and practices of men's invention, about the most trifling of which they were extremely tenacious, while the positive requirements of God were omitted, or explained away. Our Lord, notwithstanding the high respect the leaders of this church commanded from the citizens, took every opportunity of exposing them and their ways to the scrutiny and abhorrence of the public, condemning them openly and to their face,—much to their annoyance, of course; and for which they repaid him by derision, slander, and interminable malice.

In the present day, in forming a judgment of others, we are expected to make allowances; but Jesus, in all his dealings with this church, made no deduction, on account of ignorance, mistake or infirmity: his reproofs and condemnations were direct, uncompromising, and even personal; conveyed in the most pungent and unambiguous terms. Now, these portions of the word, as well as all other parts of the Scripture, "were written for our learning;" they were not intended to be mere historical data respecting persons and things gone by; the Holy Spirit had a design in directing his servants to record these events, even to warn, reprove and condemn professing churches to the end of time. This design is wickedly compromised to suit the times we live in! and the language of Jesus is too strong for application now! God took needless pains in causing it to be written!

Human nature is still the same it was then—with just the same liability to hypocritical profession in individuals, and in churches: consequently there is now equal need of the same wholesome, however, unpalatable, reproofs. Let us see how some of these denunciations against the ancient professing church, will apply to the modern professing church, Mat. xxiii, 5, 7. All their works they do for display and influence; they make broad their profession of religion, and enlarge the bounds and size of their flowers and denominations; and love the uppermost rooms at public meetings, and the chief seats in colleges; and public gratulations; and to be called of men Rev., Dr., Professor.

Verse 15th. Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, and hypocrites; for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte to temperance or to benevolent operations of the day; and when he is made, ye make him tenfold more the child of hell than yourselves: for though he has parted with open drunkenness and given some money, yet he may now connive at, justify, and practice that system which embodies not only intemperance and covetousness, but also all manner of lawless oppression, theft, murder and blasphemy.

Verse 16, 17. Woe to you ye blind guides, who say whosoever shall affect the spirituality of the church, it is nothing; but whosoever shall meddle with the church's outward glitter and prosperity, he is a robber: ye fools and blind; for which is greater, outward profession, or the church of Christ which sanctifies the profession?

Verse 22. Woe to you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye contribute to the benevolent operations of the day, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment upon the oppressed, mercy towards the oppressed, and dependence upon God: these last ye ought to have done at all events, and not to leave the former undone.

Verse 24. Ye blind guides, who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel; for, don't you recollect that member who had taken a glass of rum, and that sister who kept some whiskey in her house, were subjected to severe scrutiny and turned out of church; while the votaries of oppression, lewdness, and blasphemy, were received with open arms—even admitted to preach and to administer what ought to be the Lord's supper: for when ye come together with such into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's Supper, Cor. xi, 20.

Verse 25, 28. Woe to Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make a great outside profession; but within ye are full of hypocrisy, and ye will not let go: Thou blind pharisee, see to it, first, that the grace of God reigns in thy heart, that thy outside profession may be clear also. Woe to you scribes and pharisees; for, like whitened sepulchres, ye outwardly appear righteous to men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.

Verse 33. Ye Serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell!

Mat. xxi, 13. And he said unto them, It is written, 'My house shall be called the house of prayer;' but ye have made it a den of thieves.

Mat. xv, 7, 8. Ye hypocrites, well did Isaiah prophesy of you, saying, 'This people draw nigh to me with their mouth, and honor me with their lips, but their

heart is far from me: but in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.

Mat. xvi, 4. A wicked and adulterous generation seeketh for a sign, (look for revivals) and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas; for, as he for disobedience was cast into the deep; so shall these despisers be humbled.

Luke xvi, 14, 15. And the Pharisees also, who were covetous, heard all these things; and they derided him. And he said unto them, Ye are they which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed among men, is abomination in the sight of God.

W. B.

A New Society.

Muskingum Co., Ohio, April 18th, 1837.

DEAR SIR:—

After an Address by Mr. James Wallace, our Anti-Slavery Society was formed in this place on the birth of April, with twenty-five members, called the Newton Anti-Slavery society.

Officers Robert More, President; Robert Ardrey, Vice President; William Wylie, Secretary; John Stevenson, Treasurer. The following Preamble and Constitution were adopted.

Whereas, Slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a sin in its very nature, essence and consequences, contrary to the immutable law of love which God has given his rational creatures, an open outrage upon the inalienable rights of man, dishonorable to the nation, destructive to the morals of the community, and contrary to the spirit of our free republican institutions; it is the incumbent duty of the patriot, the Christian and the Philanthropist, to exercise all moral means for the immediate removal of this national and deadly sin. In order that we may more effectually discharge this duty, a duty which the God of heaven imposes upon us, which the law of love demands at our hands, and justice to our fellow men requires, we, citizens of Ohio, do hereby form ourselves into a society and adopt the following Constitution as the rule of our conduct.

It is unnecessary of course to insert the Constitution, which is similar to others framed for like purposes.—

Eds. PAIR.

NOTICES.

Dr. J. S. WATSON, of Sothersville, Butler county, is appointed and duly authorized to act as Agent for the Philanthropist in that vicinity.

DAVID POWELL, is appointed Agent for the Philanthropist, in Steubenville and vicinity.

MR. ELIZABETH M. LEONARD, is also authorized to receive Subscriptions for the Philanthropist, at the "Illinois Missionary Institute," in Adams county Illinois.

Also, Dr. THOS. A. BROWN, is appointed Agent for the Philanthropist at Carrollton, Illinois—and Mr. J. BROWN, Agent at Jerseyville, Illinois.

MR. WILLARD KETES, is appointed and requested to act as agent for the Philanthropist in Quincy (Ill.) and the neighboring country.

MR. DANIEL B. EVANS, is hereby respectfully requested and duly authorized to act as agent for the Philanthropist in Ripley and vicinity.

Receipts.

Dr. J. S. Waugh, donation,	\$4 00
Charles Clapp per A. W. Corey for Philan.	4 50
P. Vanarsdall, do	10 00

Chase's Speech.

The speech of SALMON P. CHASE, Esq., in the case of the colored woman, Matilda, claimed as a slave, just published, and kept for sale at the Anti-Slavery Depository, corner of Sixth and Main streets (upstairs,) and at the principal bookstores. A valuable document.

TO THE FRIENDS AND PATRONS OF LITERATURE.—FRANKLIN COLLEGE.

The Board of Trustees of the above named Institution, feel it to be due to themselves, and to the public, to state, that Franklin College is now in a flourishing condition, and its prospects are very flattering. After having encountered a series of adverse providences, in the death of two able and worthy Presidents in quick succession, and in the want of adequate pecuniary resources, the Board are happy in being able to say, that the Institution has not only survived these shocks of adversity, but has risen rapidly into public favor, and into a state of growing prosperity. We can with the utmost confidence recommend our Faculty of Teachers as competent and disposed to give full instruction on all the branches of literature taught in the several departments of College; and can with the same confidence vouch for their moral and religious character as a perfect guaranty that every effort will be made to diffuse a healthful, moral, and religious influence among the students under their care. The Board have recently elected the Rev. Joseph Smith of St. Clairville, to the Presidency of the College, who has accepted the appointment and will enter upon the duties of his station at the commencement of the summer session. Mr. Smith has been for a number of years extensively and favorably known as an able and successful minister in the Presbyterian Church, likewise as a finished scholar and an efficient teacher. He was for several years engaged in the business of public instruction, and with great acceptance and success. He had charge, for a time, of the Academy at Staunton, Va., and raised it from the dust to a state of great prosperity. Before he was 18 years of age he was employed as Tutor in Jefferson College, Canonsburg, where he received his education. The reputation for learning and moral worth of all our teachers is deservedly high wherever they are known.

The two Literary Societies in the College are in good standing, and are accessible to all the students. Free discussion on all subjects is allowed in them and in College; but no preference is shown to any student on the ground of either his religious or other opinions. A large and commodious public boarding house has been erected for the accommodation of students; in which, as well as in a number of respectable private families in the Village and surrounding neighborhood, boarding can be had on the most reasonable terms.

The high and healthful situation of the College, the intelligence and moral character of the community, the freedom of the place from haunts of dissipation, the moderate and easy terms of boarding and tuition, and the competency and industry of our Professors, all unite in rendering our institution worthy the patronage of the friends of literature throughout the land. Young men desirous of acquiring a substantial education, or parents having sons to devote to literature, are most respectfully invited to avail themselves of the advantages to be enjoyed at Franklin College.

The summer session of College commences in the last week of April, and the winter session in the last week of October, annually.

The Borough of New Athens, in which the College is located, is about 18 miles from Wheeling, and about 8 miles from the National Road at the nearest point.

By order of the Board of Trustees,

Rev. JOHN McARTHUR,

Rev. JACOB COON,

Committee.

New Athens, April 14th, 1837.

A. KELLÖGG,

Furniture Auction House, Fifth street between Main and Walnut.

LONG & PATTERSON'S

CABINET & CHAIR WARE ROOM,

On Columbia street, East of Main.

*See the answer of the President of the United States to the address of the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic on presenting the colors of France to the U. States.

